Fanya and Aron Baron
Martyrs of Bolshevism

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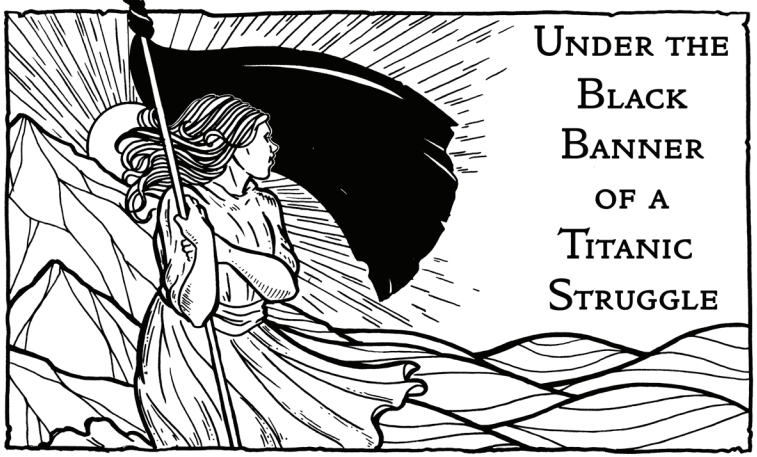


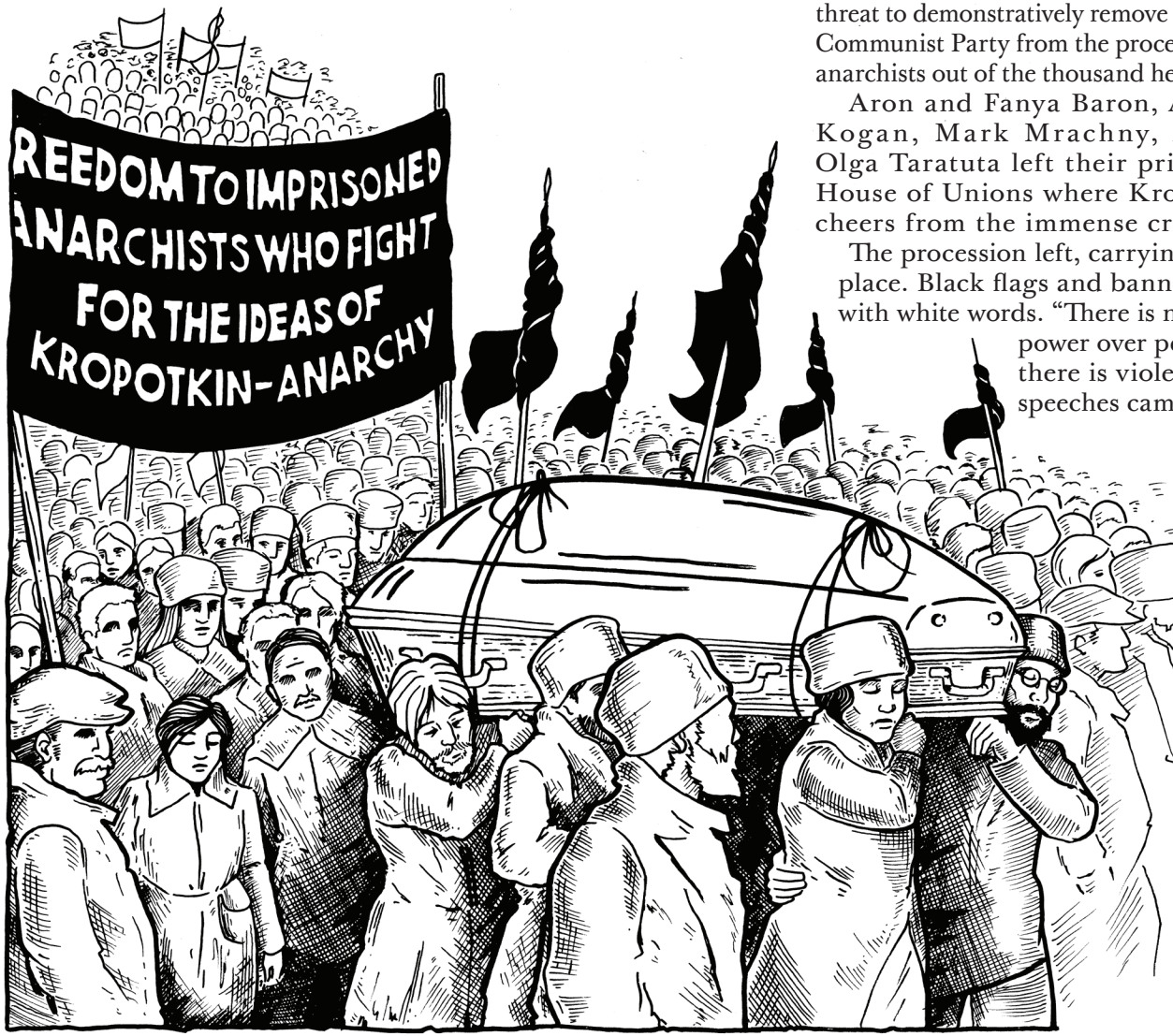
Under the Black Banner of a Titanic Struggle

February 13th 1921 Fanya Baron stepped out of a Bolshevik prison dirty, unkempt, starved, and beaten. She along with her husband Aron and five other anarchists moved to their mournful task, carrying Pyotr Kropotkin's casket to its final resting place in Novodevichy Cemetery[1].Five days earlier he had died. He had returned to his home country after a long exile only to see the dreams of revolution crushed by the brutality of the Bolsheviks. His funeral would be the last "legal" anarchist event in Russian for sixty seven years. In Moscow at the news of his death anarchists set immediately to organizing his funeral procession. The movement in Russia had been experiencing intense repression from the Bolsheviks for a number of years and one of their immediate demands was the release of their comrades in the gulags to attend the procession. Their initial appeals were met with refusal, so they escalated.

Two days before the funeral a black banner reading "Freedom to imprisoned anarchists who fight for the ideas of Kropotkin-Anarchy" was placed at the Moscow Hall of Commons. The Cheka demanded it be removed, which it was, for a short time. Then right back up it went now accompanied by guards with Zora Gandlevskaya holding one of the poles. Chekists began bad faith negotiations, demanding anarchists give themselves as hostages if the paroles were to flee. Universities

began to compile names of anarchists students willing to take their place, to which Chekists then claimed they couldn't find a single anarchist to release as their gulags only held "bandits."

The ever trickling and mounting anarchist presence in Moscow was beginning to shift Cheka perception on how much they would be able to avoid mass revolt and riot if they continued to deny the request for parole. When Alexandra Kropotkin announced she supported the anarchist organized Funeral Commissions' threat to demonstratively remove the wreaths and flags of Russian Communist Party from the procession, they relented. Only seven anarchists out of the thousand held in their gulags were released.



Aron and Fanya Baron, Aleksandr Guevsky, David Kogan, Mark Mrachny, Aleksey Olonetsky, and Olga Taratuta left their prison and were taken to the House of Unions where Kropotkin's casket lay, met by cheers from the immense crowd of over 50,000 people.

The procession left, carrying the man to his final resting place. Black flags and banners trailed them emblazoned with white words. "There is no power more villainous than power over people!" "Where there is power there is violence!" The last of the funeral speeches came from Aron Baron who cried out defiant till the last against the Red Terror who trampled revolution under their boots and worked as butchers in their cellars and dungeons.

The next day a little after noon they returned to their prisons.

Fanya Baron was born in either 1889 or 1890 in Vilnius, Lithuania to a Jewish family. On her mother's side she came from a long line of Rabbis[2]. Her father was a watchmaker and businessman who had lost his sight[3]. Of the six children, Fanya along with her older sisters Sonia and Luba, provided a

great deal of help in supporting the family. They had emigrated to the US after the failed 1905 revolution and changed their name from Grek to Greferson. Fanya changed her name from Freydla. Initially, the father had stayed in Russia, but Fanya travelled to Russia and brought him to Chicago in 1911.

The Greks and the Barons enjoyed close relationships in Russia and Fanya and Aron knew each other as children. Aron had been arrested and exiled to Siberia in 1907 for his participation within the Kiev Union of Bakers. He made his way to Chicago in 1912 where he reunited with Fanya. His brother had married her eldest sister Sonia. Luba, had married Morris Fagan, an active wobbly.

In Chicago, the winter between 1914 and 15 had been extremely cold, exacerbating the unemployment crisis resulting in an increase in homelessness. Wobblies and other anarchists had been busy with food and blanket drives for people. On January 17th 1915 Lucy Parsons led a raucous march through Chicago protesting hunger for which Ralph Chamberlain penned "Solidarity Forever." 31 years before on Nov 27th Thanksgiving day Lucy participated in organizing a mass demonstration against hunger and poverty where anarchists flew the black flag in the United States for the first time.

At the rally before the 1915 march, Fanya led the Russian Revolutionary Chorus[4]. The march left under a large black banner with the word HUNGER painted boldly in white. Police quickly confronted the march asking them for their permit and then ordering them to disperse to which people yelled "To Hell with orders! We're Hungry!" A moment latter the street erupted into a fight. A paper reported a maelstrom of fists, batons, and brass knuckles of police striking women and girls in the march. Women fought back, biting and scratching police with a reporter detailing one young women attempting to claw the eyes out of a policeman as she gripped his throat.

The march continued with police indiscriminately attacking and picking off more participants for arrest. A total of six women and fifteen men were put in jail. Among them Lucy Parsons and Fanya Baron, who earlier had been knocked unconscious by a cop's club. Jane Adams, the mostly anarchist friendly proprietress of Hull House, helped to arrange bail for those arrested.

Fanya and Aaron worked with Lucy Parsons on a revival of the anarchist periodical *The Alarm*, publishing between 1915-1916 as the International Propaganda Group of Chicago. The first iteration of *The Alarm* was published by Lucy and her late husband, Haymarket martyr Albert Parsons from 1884-1887. Aron published *Mere Barking Won't Do!* in the *Alarm* in December of that year[5].

> Petitions, protests, resoutions, hundreds of thousands of them - all in vain! The masters are triumphant: Joe Hill is shot, murdered, dead.
>
> What now? What next? Not only what, but who is next? You and I, who are striving for a better world, we may be next tomorrow. You who have a vision of a society without masters, and are spreading your ideal, among the oppressed and exploited, tomorrow you may be led to the scaffold. Why not? You say you have committed no crime? You don't have to! If you are known as a man of deep devotion to the Cause of the Workers, never mind about a charge: any shrewd attorney will find one against you, just as they did for Joe Hill. That's what they have done 28 years ago to Parsons and his comrades, that's what they have tried to do to Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone, to Ettor and Giovanitti, to Ford and Suhr in California, Rangel and Clines in Texas, that's what they are trying to do right now to Schmidt and Caplan in Los Angeles.
>
> And what are you going to do? Again protest? O, yes, in this "free" democratic country you have freedom of speech: talk! Talk your head off – who cares? A lot you care when you hear a hungry dog barking? That's just the attitude of the masters towards us: Bark! A lot they care!
>
> Fellow-workers and comrades! All of you to whom the existing conditions are repugnant, and all of you who find a Free Society worth fighting for, – let us profit by the death and torture of our martyrs in realizing once for all that
>
> Mere barking won't do!
>
> We must learn to bite, and bite effectively!

In March of 1917 news of the February Revolution and the abdication of Nicholas the Bloody arrived. As newsboys shouted "Revolution in Russia! Tsar Nicholas Abdicates!"

in the streets of Chicago, anarchists rejoiced at the news of the end of the Romanoff dynasty. As more and more news started to reach them, Russian exiles across the states celebrated and mass meetings were held by every political group. Many exiles first thought was to return to Russia, a wish made possible for many as Kerensky of the Provisional Government agreed to pay for the return expenses of political exiles.

Political committees formed who worked directly with the Russian consul to aid the return of the exiles. Many traced their routes of escape from Tsarist prisons back to Russia. Pullman rail cars took them to Canada where they boarded a liner ship for a ten day journey across the Pacific Ocean to reach Japan. From Japan they entered Siberia, and back to Russia.

Luba and the family stayed in the US continuing to organize and becoming part of the Anarchist forum in Clevland[6]. Her daughter Sophie organized with the Student Anti-War Congress and wrote songs for the I.W.W. That persist today[7]. The family would follow the developments in Russia with Fanya and Aron in their hearts. The couple had a child, Theodore, together who they left in the U.S., but his fate is unknown.

Fanya and Aron threw themselves into anarchist and labour organizing in Russia, but with mounting repression against anarchists, they joined the steady stream of anarchists flocking to Ukraine. In the fall of 1917 Aron participated in the forming of anarchist detachments fighting against Ukrainian Nationalists and the German-Austrian troops[8]. He fought in the detachments while Fanya organized in the factories and they found themselves in Kursk in the summer of 1918, where anarchists aiming to unite all Ukrainian and Russian anarchists were to form the Ukrainian Anarchist Confederation[9] (also called Nabat or KUA.)

Nabat consisted of 12 anarchist communist and anarchist syndicalist organizations. They adopted a series of shared principles all united in opposition to Bolshevism, putting forward an idea of a "united anarchism" attempting to join the strands of anarchist communism, individualism, and syndicalism together. United anarchism was part of the intellectual guidance of the anarchist Volin, combining anarchist communism as a goal of struggle, individualism as a philosophical doctrine grounding individual freedom, with a syndicalist "mass-organizing" strategy.

Fanya Baron

They promoted the creation of communes and the socialization of the land and tools of labour. They viewed the insurrectionary movement against the German-Austro occupiers as immensely important, calling for the active involvement of anarchists in insurgent formations especially to conduct cultural, educational, and propaganda work among its participants. Particularly of interest to the Nabat was the Makhnovists movement of which many members were active participants. KUA members were explicitly forbidden to participate in punitive bodies such as the Cheka, police, courts, and prisons. All

were forbidden to occupy leadership in any government body.

For the next few years the Baron's travelled to Kharkov, Odessa, Kiev, and Yekaterinoslay. Aron participated in the publication of the *Nabat* (translating to Alarm, the second paper of the name Alarm he worked on.) Fanya distributed the publication up and down the country while working in factories in Kiev and Kharkov to organize and support unions. Members of the Nabat worked closely with the Makhnovists movement occupying various roles and positions within it. As the Makhnovists established autonomy in Gualyi-Pole, Nabat gained a significant impact on the ideology of the developing movement, soon with offices and publications in the majority of cities in Ukraine.

In Russia the Baron's worked with Liya and Iosef Gutman. The couple had also traveled to Russia at the news of the February revolution and thrown themselves into revolt with the same passion the Barons had. Liya's husband Iosef would be elected as a Secretariat Nabat Confederation and worked on the paper alongside Aron.

The Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine, the Makhnovists, formed a Cultural-Educational Department tasked in part with promoting anarchist ideals among the insurgents. Its members included Liya and Iosef Gutman along with David Kogan, who was known as The Little Christ for his kind and loving nature. Liya wrote under the name Elena Keller and Iosef was known as Joseph the Emigrant.

Nabat and the Cultural-Educational department undertook an immense amount of work in creating educational and propaganda components. They saw their role as agitators and propagandists with a responsibility to inspire the feelings and sentiments of anarchism in others. Nabat papers sprang up in cities across Ukraine and thousands and thousands of papers, leaflets, and pamphlets were distributed throughout the army.

Though in close alignment with the Makhnovists, Nabat saw themselves as distinctly separate from the Makhnovists army, which, organized under the direction of anarchists, was itself comprised of a large variety of peoples[10].

"After listening to the report of comrades who are closely acquainted with the Makhnovshchina, and engging in a comprehensive discussion on the isssue, - an emergency meeting of members of the NABAT! Confederation are forced to state that among a certain part of the members of the Confederation there is not an entirely correct idea of the Makhnovists movement, which causes, in some cases, the wrong attitude towards them from the comrades. The insurrectionary movement of the southern provinces of Ukraine, known under the name of the Makhnovists movement, organically formed by peasants aware of their revolutionary potential as a reaction to the violent intervention of all types of authorities in their lives.

Around Nestor Makhno, a conscious anarchist and a peasant-rebel, freedom-loving Makhnovists insurgents gathered under his leadership to fight heroically against their conquerors-Germans, with Denikin's' White Army, and persistently repel attempts to subjugate the new "workers 'and peasants'" government . The slogan of the so-called Makhnovists the movement is a struggle for free labor councils, for the free labor Soviet system. Because in this movement the aspiration of the people is a grassroots manifestation towards self-liberation, it is the duty of every anarchist to actively help them in the struggle against the state. But the Makhnovists army is not an anarchist army. The Makhnovists army is a revolutionary web of devotion, courage, and self-sacrifice with the prejudice of the average villager. Lack of a significant number of ideological participants, on the one hand, and continuous tense fighting atmosphere on the other hand – are reasons that among the revolutionary Makhnovists insurgents unfortunately, there are still such undesirable phenomena, like drunkenness, antisemitism, etc. Firmly knowing the closest immediate task is to beat the bourgeoisie and drive the rapists-rulers- the Makhnovists rebels have, however, a very vague idea of the anarchist ideal. It is therefore desirable that significant anarchist ideological strength is needed in order to deepen the Makhnovists movement, to make it more conscious, more anarchist. This meeting of the active workers of the Confederation "Nabat" reminds comrades,that the Makhnovists movement cannot be confused with the anarchist movement, you cannot substitute

ANARCHIST CONFERENCE
ANARCHIST CONFERENCE

one for the other. Along with participation in worker organizations, promoting our ideas and in the Red Army, and among the broad working masses, we must apply all our efforts to ensure that from the most conscious part of the rebels-Makhnovists forms a progressive ideological anarchist vanguard. In the struggle of the working people for their complete emancipation from both Power and Capital, anarchist groups and individual anarchists have always accepted and assumed the role of propaganda, the role of inspirers, pushers, initiators.

In this struggle, the anarchists mainly resisted on the need for AWAKENING ACTIVITY AND INDEPENDENT CREATIVITY of the workers and peasants everywhere, and were hostile to the attempts of some comrades to draw the anarchists along the path of conspiratorial organizations or the path of military or other political coups. Confederation NABAT! remains in a tried and tested anarchic position, claiming that no lone heroes and no special military forces will be able to accomplish what is only possible as a result of the working masses themselves. A horizontal anarchist society will be forged in the process of the struggle as the spirit of creativity and the desire for new independent egalitarian organization is more and more awakened in the people."

From April 2-7 in 1919 the second Nabat congress was formed. Delegates from nine cities representing 26 organizations attended who re-elected Aron and Iosef to the secretariat. At this time the organization numbered well over 500 members with several tens of thousands of sympathizers. The Nabat re-emphasized their opposition to the Bolshevik again making demands for the end to persecution of anarchists and reaffirmed their commitment to the creative potential of people to self organize.

Aron and Fanya continued their work distributing and working on the ideas of the Nabat. Both were accomplished and loved orators and faced constant persecution from soviets. Arrested and released a number of times under a variety of suspicions but never charged. Emma remembering her, relayed her utter passion and endless contributions to the pursuit of liberation.

"Fanya Baron was of the type of Russian woman completely consecrated to the cause of humanity. While in America she gave all her spare time and a goodly part of her meager earnings in a factory to further Anarchist propaganda. Years afterward, when I met her in Kharkov, her zeal and devotion had become intensified by the persecution she and her comrades had endured since their return to Russia. She possessed unbounded courage and a generous spirit. She could perform the most difficult task and deprive herself of the last piece of bread with grace and utter selflessness.

In August of 1920 a break occurred between Aron and Makhno, with Baron remarking the latter was like a "Ukrainian Bonaparte." An emergency conference of the Nabat was called. There had been a debate within the Nabat as to the responsibilities of anarchists engaged in war. For Aron the question of what to do with captured White soldiers particularly strong. At the time, any Makhnovist who was captured was quickly and summarily executed by the Whites, who were waging an unrelenting and brutal campaign. Torturing, raping, and executing anyone they found in opposition to them. For Baron the execution of captured White army soldiers betrayed the principles of anarchism.

This among other criticisms of the Makhnovists, was debated hotly in Kharkov, which had become a major meeting point of the anarchists centered around the Free Brotherhood Bookshop. The questions the attendants debated concerned the relationship of the Nabat to the Makhnovists, the relationship of anarchists with the Soviet regime, and the question of spreading literature. The question of the Soviet regime were as split as the first debate. There was no question that the Bolshevik were attacking and seeking to disrupt the organizing of the anarchist movement. Some believed the anarchist movement should revert to its tactics of direct action and terror with others claiming they should take advantage of the situation to spread anarchist literature and propaganda.

The conference ended with the Nabat resolving to continue working with the Makhnovists and to leave the militant opposition to the Bolshevik to the partisan armies and terrorists, but both

groups were to soon experience wide spread political repression.

In November 25th 1920, on the eve of a legal anarchist conference at the Brotherhood Bookshop, a mass arrest occurred. This was part of Trotsky's "major surgical operation" against the anarchists in Ukraine. Makhno's headquarters were raided by the Red Army and the Cheka targeted the leaders of the Nabat Confederation in Kharkov. Among the 300 anarchist delegates arrested in Kharkov were figures such as Aron, Volin, Olga Taratuta, Senya Fleshin, Anatolii Gorelik, and Liya Gutman[11].

Liya Gutman

Iosef was missing and feared dead. In September of 1920 he had traveled with two comrades to Starobelsk as a representative of the Makhnovists to discuss a joint venture with the Reds to stop the White general Wrangel. On the way to the station he had disappeared without a trace along with Yakov Sukhovolsky and a comrade using the name Iosef Safian, one of the most prominent of the Ukrainian anarchists. Anarchists were assured the three were safe in Starobelsk, and learned later the three had been treacherously killed by the Bolshevik.

The anarchists arrested in Kharkov were thrown into the Taganka and Butyrki prisons in Moscow. The Bolshevik would constantly move the arrested from prison to prison to disrupt support efforts and plans for escape.

Emma Goldman was to protest this repression vehemently to various bureaucrats. She raised such a fuss she was even granted an audience with Lenin, who re-assured her no anarchists were being arrested but only bandits and terrorists. A common smear the Bolsheviks would use in their repression and slaughter of the anarchists.

The anarchists did not stop their agitation once imprisoned. Over 1500 prisoners of the Butirky went on strike for better conditions and won. Some of the conditions of which they specifically organized against were mistreatment, lack of bathing and water, abominable food, excrement filled buckets not emptied for days, and other cruelties. The prisoners had won many gains even resulting in the ability for the radicals to organize classes and lectures.

For this the Cheka sought revenge on the night of April 25th 1921. At night, 2000 half drunken men swooped down on the sleeping defenseless political prisoners of the Butirky. The first attack from the Cheka general Samsonov was directed against the female solitary confinement building. Women like Fanya and Liya were violently dragged by their hair or legs, heads banging on the iron steps. In a note to the Freedom Journal[12], one of the 300 victims of the attack wrote

DEAR COMRADES,—

We hasten to inform you that we are at present in the Ryazan Concentration Camp of Forced Labour. We were brought here yesterday, that is, April 26. There are here

in all only ten of us Anarchists — David Kogan, Kurbatoff, Liloff, Tarasiuk, Konstantin Feodoroff, Boudanoff, Khokhotva, Gavriloff, Pilipenko, and Fanya Baron. Besides these ten of us, they also brought here from the same Bootirka nine members of the Right Social Revolutionists, and sixteen Menshiviki; in all, thirty-five persons.

They took us from the Bootirka prison in the night of the 25-26th of April, between 3-5 in the morning. They took all the Socialists, over 300 persons. They took us by force. Many were beaten. We were taken in our night-clothes, though later on we were permitted to return, singly, for our things. The women were most of all maltreated. Some of them had their heads broken. The warders threw the women down the stairs, and some women were dragged out by their hair. I myself was so badly beaten that I still ache all over my body. Those offering resistance were beaten worst of all. Altogether, the prison that night was a veritable nightmare, a horror which I lack words to describe.

We were all divided into groups; the whereabouts of five whom they have taken are still unknown to us. We beg you to make immediate inquiry through the "Political Red Cross" or "Black Cross" (Anarchist Red Cross to aid imprisoned Anarchists). Let us know as soon as possible where and how the others are, and also inform them about us. We do not know yet if we shall remain here, or whether they intend to transfer us somewhere else. Conditions of life here are terrible. The cells are unhealthy. No exercise or airing permitted. Food is scarce and filthy. Everywhere awful dirt and bed-bugs and other parasites. We mean soon to declare a hunger-strike for better conditions. We have just been told to get ready with our things. They are going to send us away; I do not know yet where to.

With fraternal greetings, I.V. TARASIUK.

Ryazan was a concentration camp with unspeakably brutal conditions. Fanya along with eight other anarchists signed onto a letter protesting its maltreatment. Across the country, anarchists in the Taganka prison where Liya and Aron had been taken staged a hunger strike against their own maltreatment. Soon after on June 19th 1921. Fanya and nine other political prisoners escaped. Six anarchists, two Makhnovists, and a Socialist, Revolutionary. Their escape was organized by Ryazan Anarcho-Universalists including the Ryazan anarchist-communist Alexander Topilin, who was later shot for helping to arrange the escape[13].

David Kogan, who she had carried Kropotkin's casket with, and Ivan Akhtyrsky escaped with her. David was an active Makhnovists and member of the Nabat, along with the Regional Revolutionary Military Council of Gulyai-Polye.

David and Ivan were arrested again seperately in 1922 and executed. For years prisoner upport groups had searched for news of the whereabouts, publishing flyers, leaflets, and with letter writing campaigns. The Bolshevik refused to give any information and by 1924 it was assumed they were dead. It wasn't until 2022 at a request by researcher Sergei Ovsiannikov that their fates were confirmed.

After her escape she stumbled to Moscow on foot. Starved, exhausted, and in tattered clothes she made contact with Alexander Berkman who rushed to bring her money. He found her in Aaron's brother in law house, Semyon. He was dearly found of Aron and Fanya and had agreed to help her in her endeavor to free Aron. The Cheka had launched a nationwide search for the escaped anarchists and many of her comrades urged her to flee from Moscow where she could be recognized. She remained, committed to freeing Aron.

Alexander Berkman continued visiting Fanya to find her in high spirits and they engaged excitedly in a conversation about how well a planned jail break for Aaron was proceeding. The day after one of his visits, he and Emma heard the grim news. Fanya had been discovered and arrested along with Semyon on August 17th, 1921. On the same street the Cheka had shot and murdered eight claiming them to be expropriates and counterfeiters. Anarchists later learned these charges had been manufactured by a Cheka infiltrator named Steimer.

Berkman had found a means to communicate with her in her prison. On September 29th he received a note from her that she had been transferred to the inner cells of the Cheka prison. To Berkman and Emma, they knew

that it spoke to the Bolsheviks intent to murder her.

The next day the Cheka carried her, struggling and biting at them till her last moment, to the cellar of the prison and shoot her. Shot along with eight other anarchists though nine were to die that day. The beloved poet and lecturer Lev Tchorny was also murdered but not by an executioners bullet. Though his release had been promised by the Cheka, they had tortured him so badly in seeking information on a bombing, he succumbed to his injuries.

The Cheka recorded his name in their daily gallows bulletin as Turchaninoff, his legal family name. Tchony was a beloved name in many households and he was held in the greatest esteem for his kindness and loving soul. The Bolsheviks feared backlash for broadcasting their deed and so sought to obscure it. Semyon had been murdered too. His compassion for his brother and sister-in-law against Bolshevik violence cost him his life. Their murders happened without trial and the claim of banditry by counterfeiting laid across the victims[14]. Emma Goldman wrote of her and Lev's murder

> And our dear, splendid Fanya, radiant with life and love, unswerving in her consecration to her ideals, touchingly feminine, yet resolute as a lioness in defense of her young, of indomitable will, she had fought to the last breath. She would not go submissively to her doom. She resisted and had to be carried bodily to the place of execution by the knights of the Communist State. Rebel to the last, Fanya had pitted her enfeebled strength against the monster for a moment and then was dragged into eternity as the hideous silence in the Cheka cellar was rent once more by her shrieks above the sudden pistol-shots.

Theses murders echoed in the hearts of anarchists and for many re-affirmed their belief that the revolution had long ago been crushed and Russia had become a charnel house. The rage at their murders created enough pressure on Lenin to release some imprisoned comrades. Back in the US, Fanya's family heard of her death resulting in them falling out with her youngest brother who had become a communist.

Aron at hearing of her death while staging a hunger strike in the Taganka would become mortally ill and comrades feared he would die. He was eventually transferred to the Kemsky camp where he and others continued to resist. When he and other anarchist exiles staged another hunger strike, the Bolsheviks attempted to stop them through force feeding. The anarchists responded through attempting to burn themselves and the prison down during which Aron received severe burns[15].

Here he was reunited with Fanny Avrutskaya who had also been arrested in the fateful Kharkov raid. She had fled from Russia in 1913 living in Paris for a time with so many other exiled Russian anarchists and had returned in 1917 as well. She and her sister Sonya fearlessly organized with the Nabat before facing arrest and exile. Fanny and Aron had a daughter together whom they named Voltarini, in admiration and honor for De Cleyre.

Liya Gutman whose fate also diverged from hers was exiled to Yelizavetgrad. Here she married her second husband, Ivan Charin.

In Aron's communication with Political Defense committees, he often sent messages back to the Grefenson's in the US including news of Fanny. He and Sophie enjoyed a dear friendship and she adopted the nickname of Arona in appreciation of him. Members of the families continue to remain in correspondence today.

In 1937 the great purges came, with Stalin working to murder all those who had participated in the revolution. Aron would be sentenced to death on August 5th 1937 and then murdered on August 12th. Fanny would also be murdered this year. The fate of their daughter Voltarina is very sadly unknown. On Berkman's final meeting with Fanya, just days before she was arrested and murdered, he wrote

> "With bowed head I seek a familiar bench in the park. Here little Fanya sat at my side. Her face was turned to the sun, her whole being radiant with idealism. Her silvery laughter rang with the joy of youth and life, but I trembled for her safety at every approaching step. 'Do not fear,' she kept reassuring me, 'no one will know me in my peasant disguise.'

1. Anatoly Dubovik, “From Prison to the cemetary: How Ukranian and Moscow Anarchists turned Kropotkin’s Funeral into a Political Rally,” trans. by Malcom Archibald. Kate Sharpley Library, [11/01/2021] https://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/mcvgbm

2. Biographical details provided by Family

3. Marcus Bullock and Jessica Benjamin, Generations and Revolutions: A Family History recalled by Jessica Benjamin, (Wayne State University Pres) Discourse, Fall 1996, Vol. 19, No. 1, Secularism and the Future of Jewry (Fall 1996), p. 29-57

4. Chicago Daily Tribune, Trouble on Halstead Street, January 18, 1915

5. The Alarm, Chicago. Vol. 1, no. 3 December 1915

6. Paul Avrich, Anarchist Voices, (AK Press) 2005, 422

7. Various Authors, The Big Red Songbook: 250+ IWW Songs (C.H. Kerr Company, PM Press) 2016, p. 327

8. http://www.makhno.ru/ “Official site of Nestor Ivanovich Makhno” accessed on 10/10/2021

9. Dmitry Rublev, Russkiy anarkhizm v KHKH veke, (Alistorus, 2019), p 220-221

10. Anarkhisty: Dokumenty i materialy. 1883—1935 gg.: V 2 t. T. 2. 1917-1935, Rezolyutsiya ekstrennogo soveshchaniya aktivnykh rabotnikov konfederatsii «Nabat», (Moscow) 1999, p. 388-389

11. Paul Avrich, The Russian Anarchists, (AK Press 2005), p. 222

12. Freedom; a journal of anarchist communism, (1921) number 386, accessed via Labadie Collection

13. 7. Calendar details from http://www.makhno.ru/ “Official site of Nestor Ivanovich Makhno” accessed on 10/10/2021

14. Volna:ezhemiesiachnyĭ organ anarkhistov-kommunistov no.25-36 (1922) Number 30, accessed via Labadie Collection

15. Freedom; a journal of anarchist communism. (1923) number 410, accessed via Labadie Collection

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Mayn tsavoe
My Testament
By David Edelstadt

Oh comrade mine, when I am dead
carry our banner to my grave:
the freedom-banner-flaming red
with all the blood that workers gave.

And there, while our banner flutters,
sing me my freedom-song again,
my "Battle Song" - that rings like fetters
around the feet of the workingmen.

And even in my grave that song,
that stormy song, will reach my ears,
and for my friends enslaved so long
there, too, shall I be shedding tears.

And when I hear a cannon sound
the final siege of want and pain,
my song shall trumpet from the ground
and set the people's heart aflame!